

school students admit to smoking marijuana.

Even without being armed with these statistics, Americans see the rise of drug use in their communities. It is on their streets and in their schools. Understandably, citizens view narcotics as one of the most pressing problems facing our country. According to a Gallup poll released yesterday, 94 percent of Americans see drug use as a serious problem or a crisis.

These recent reports are a wake-up call to the administration to take action. It has served as the impetus for this Task Force on National Drug Policy to set a framework for policy and establish strategic plans to combat the drug epidemic. This, in turn, should move the White House to realize that this is a pressing issue that they can no longer neglect. Action must be taken now. Our children cannot afford to wait any longer.

Efforts must be stepped up to get at the drug suppliers, especially the drug kingpins. They are profiting while the rest of us suffer. There presence is being tolerated and should not be tolerated anymore.

In order to control the proliferation of illegal narcotics, law enforcement efforts must play a leading role in the Federal strategy. Law enforcement agencies, experts in this field, have been able to develop innovative techniques to respond to the spread of drugs in our communities. They are on the frontlines of this war against drugs and have the knowledge to fight its recent rise.

The members of this task force have the ability to establish policy and to take the initiative through legislative action. An example of this could be the implementation of a system such as the Automated Fingerprint Identification System [AFIS]. Using this biometric system, drug smugglers will not be able to repeatedly enter this country using fictitious identification with anonymity and impunity. Recidivistic drug felons could be immediately identified, detained, and prosecuted or deported before their heinous acts impact upon our children, families, and communities. This is at least one way to reduce the flow of drugs over our borders.

Another way to deter drug dealers is to raise sentencing guidelines and enact mandatory minimums to guarantee longer sentences. These will also act as a deterrent to potential offenders. We should be attacking their trade, not ignoring their presence.

It is evident that the illegal drug trade has profited with the focus shifted away from their activities. But this task force will change that. With the emphasis placed back on narcotics and the harm it spreads, this task force may be able to concentrate efforts to rekindle the decline of drug use that was noted prior to this administration.

I would also like to take this opportunity to commend my colleagues for their leadership and initiative in the

effort to control illicit drugs in the United States.●

TO HELP THOSE LIVING ON THE EDGE

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, one of the most dynamic people I have had a chance to meet in my years in public life is a Roman Catholic priest by the name of Father George Clements.

He has stirred controversy from time to time by his championing of causes that sometimes are unpopular but always, in my opinion, reflect favorably on his faith and his humanitarianism.

Recently Parade magazine had a story concerning his program of "One Church-One Addict" which I ask to be printed in full in the RECORD.

What a great thing for this Nation it would be if every church in the Nation were to follow this simple admonition.

Many churches would find that they have been unable to help people, a least not immediately. But many others would find they have been the difference in keeping people from going over the edge.

The article follows:

TO HELP THOSE LIVING ON THE EDGE
(By Marie Ragghianti)

The only major institution not dealing with substance abuse is the church," the Rev. George Clements told me. "Look at our prisons and universities—they're fighting drugs. We can do no less."

For many years, Father Clements has been inspiring others to action through both his words and his deeds. In 1980, from his parish in Chicago, he started a program called One Church-One Child. His idea—for every church to place one homeless child with a family—eventually grew into a national program, and it has helped find homes for more than 50,000 children. In a controversial move, Clements himself adopted four youngsters. (The Vatican eventually supported him.) In 1987, a TV movie told his story.

Now, the 63-year-old priest has an even more ambitious mission: to help recovering addicts find support in their religious communities. Clements' new program is called One Church-One Addict, which he founded with the American Alliance for Rights and Responsibilities, a nonprofit organization based in Washington, D.C.

"If Jesus was walking around today, he'd be working in the area of substance abuse," Clements says when he speaks to religious groups around the country. "Jesus lived on the cutting edge and helped others. We must do the same."

One Church-One Addict is ecumenical: All faiths are asked to do something about drug addiction and/or alcoholism in their communities. Volunteers are trained to give counseling and support. They meet with clients in one-on-one sessions, helping them learn how to live without drugs or alcohol. Clients usually enter the program upon leaving a rehabilitation center or clinic. They receive support for about nine months, although no time limit is set.

I asked Father Clements how he got involved in helping recovering addicts. It began, he said, with a child he once knew who lived near his church—the Holy Angels Catholic church, in the drug-plagued housing projects of Chicago's South Side.

"I wouldn't be in this work today if it wasn't for Tommy," Clements explained. "Tommy was valedictorian of his eighth-

grade class. He was a great football player and had won an academic scholarship to attend an excellent high school. He wanted to be an obstetrician. One evening, he asked if I thought he could make it. 'Of course you can, Tommy,' I told him. 'I have no doubt.' "That night, after I was in bed, the phone rang. It was the emergency room at a local hospital. A kid was dying. He was unconscious and didn't have any identification, but they could make out the words 'Father Clements.' I raced to the hospital. When I arrived, I found Tommy lying on a slab, dead of a drug overdose.

"After the funeral, I sat at my desk and couldn't stop crying. How could I not have known? That day, it was as if a force grabbed me by the back of the neck, and I knew I had to do something."

Shortly after Tommy's death, Father Clements took a walk through his neighborhood. What he saw outraged him: Drug paraphernalia littered the streets and, to his astonishment, was being sold in the area's small liquor stores, pharmacies and candy shops—many of which were frequented by children. A few months later, Clements decided to organize protests. He went to a large wholesaler of drug paraphernalia and held a revival in the parking lot. The 1989 event was covered by regional media and prompted the Illinois Legislature to pass a law banning much of the paraphernalia.

For Clements, however, that victory was only the beginning: He decided that the church could no longer ignore the problem of drugs in the community. After five years of planning, One Church-One Addict was born in 1994, receiving funding through seed grants provided by nonprofit groups. Since then, 715 churches in 31 states have signed on; more than 2000 people have been helped by its network of support.

How does Father Clements compare the two programs he founded?

"I feel that One Church-One Addict is a natural outgrowth of One Church-One Child," he said. "People are much more sympathetic to kids than to addicts. But I tell people that I'm not excusing or defending addiction. We say, 'Love the addict, hate the addiction.'"●

PROTECTING THE FIRST AMENDMENT

● Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I did not support the effort yesterday to begin writing exceptions into the first amendment of our Constitution. The first amendment protects the right of free speech, no matter how unpopular or offensive that speech is. The Court interprets this to include the right of people to burn a flag if a person so chooses. Presumably, the Court would reach the same conclusion with regard to a person's right to burn the Constitution or even the Bill of Rights itself.

Modern technology has given us the ability to see political protest, including the burning of flags, as it occurs around the world—in Tiananmen Square, in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and in South Africa. We are not only able to see the political protest, we are also able to see those governments step in to prevent that expression, to limit that speech, and to silence dissent and criticism aimed at those in power.

This proposed constitutional amendment would sanction that same type of

repressive action by our own Government. And such repression would not be permitted only when people are disturbing the peace, but also when they are trying to dramatize their strongly held political views. Like most citizens, I might find many of those political views offensive. But I am not willing to amend the Constitution to permit States and the Federal Government to restrict the expression of those views.

It distresses me to see the symbol of our great Republic mocked and desecrated.

But I am not so foolish as to mutilate those values themselves. The strength of our country is in large part due to the fact that we tolerated the expression of unpopular views. It does not strengthen us as a nation to begin, by constitutional amendment, to restrict the right of political expression. It does not protect our Nation to diminish the very liberties which have made us the envy of all mankind.

Mr. President, it seems that this issue surfaces every 4 or 5 years usually before Presidential elections. We spoke about this issue before the last Presidential election and we debate the issue again now.

Mr. President, one point which has come home to me time and again since I have been in the Senate, is that the Framers of our Constitution did a marvelous thing when they wrote that document and when they added to it the Bill of Rights. Not only did they produce a document embodying our most precious values and a system of government to advance and protect those values, they also had the wisdom to anticipate the very type of effort to silence unpopular expression. They anticipated it, and they guarded against it by requiring changes in the Constitution to be accomplished only by a two-thirds vote of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and then by the approval of three-quarters of the legislatures of our States.

Those requirements have served us well in the present debate. I am glad that the necessary two-thirds vote to approve this amendment was not achieved in this Senate. I am heartened to hear the strong statements of many of my colleagues against the amendment.

What about the public reaction to all of this? Recent polls show that a majority of Americans favor such a constitutional amendment and indicate that they would be inclined to vote against a Representative or Senator who opposed it.

I would like to believe that, given time for additional reflection, most Americans would have a different view. I would like to believe that those of us in public life have a responsibility and opportunity to persuade our fellow citizens on this issue.

Time will tell whether my beliefs are well-founded.

I cast my vote against this proposed amendment with the satisfaction of

knowing that I have done what is clearly right.●

FROM POLITICS TO PARANOIA

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, recently *The Washington Post* had an op-ed piece by one of the finest people I have met in my four decades of public service: Abner J. Mikva.

He served in the House, served in the federal judiciary and served as counsel to President Clinton. In all three areas he served with great distinction.

I believe we should reflect on his recent op-ed piece "From Politics to Paranoia," which I ask to be printed in full in the *RECORD* at the conclusion of my remarks.

Along with Senator John GLENN and Senator JEFF BINGAMAN, I voted against the authorization of another million dollars for further Whitewater investigations by the Senate committee.

I believe it will turn out to be a waste of money. I have been appointed to that committee, perhaps because of that vote.

But much worse than the conduct of congressional committees have been the excesses of the independent counsels that have been appointed.

If I were to vote again today on that creation, I would vote against it.

I read recently that the Whitewater independent counsel is now investigating two contributions to Bill Clinton's 1990 gubernatorial race. And the independent counsel has now spent almost \$25 million in pursuing every little remote lead.

Our laws should be enforced and we need independence.

My own feeling is that we should establish certain standards for the Office of Attorney General and then not have an independent counsel.

Janet Reno is independent. President Gerald Ford's appointment of Ed Levi as Attorney General was not an appointment of a close friend but rather someone genuinely independent.

Unfortunately, we have had examples of Attorneys General being appointed who are too close to the President.

But to have independent counsels that run amuck is not in our national interest.

The article follows:

[From the *Washington Post*, Nov. 26, 1995]

FROM POLITICS TO PARANOIA—MISGUIDED ETHICS LAWS HAVE GIVEN US MORE MISTRUST, NOT LESS

(By Abner J. Mikva)

It probably was inevitable that after a year as White House counsel some in the media and politics would speculate that I left my job because I "know something." I don't want to defend. That suspicion is dead wrong. I left because I am physically tired—but in good health and humor, and I intend to stay that way.

The long hours were draining, though worth it. But far more demoralizing was what I came to see as a profound loss of faith by the American people in the government they've created. I leave public life at a time when America has grown unusually distrust-

ful of its government and its leaders. Too many of us expect and believe the worst about government, even when no evidence exists to justify our doubts. And I've come to think that some of our intended solutions to this over the years have become the cause of the problem. We need changes in the independent counsel law and others we've created with perhaps the best of intentions.

Healthy skepticism is necessary to the continuation of our democracy. When it turns to paranoia, it becomes destructive. American history has alternated between the two—from the Watergate reformers and the anti-Federalists who opposed the new Constitution of the 1780s to the paranoia of the "Know Nothings" of the mid-1800s to the "I hate Washington" crowd of today.

What seems paradoxical about today's lack of trust is that never have people in government been obliged to disclose more about themselves. Ethics laws, freedom of information laws, conflict of interest laws and others have made public officials live in the clearest goldfish bowl ever. Federal agencies have inspectors general and designated ethics officials whose job it is to ferret out any unethical behavior, whether it is by a Cabinet secretary or a mail clerk. The independent counsel laws provides a mechanism whereby the attorney general must refer out any evidence of criminal wrongdoing by high government officials.

Yet public confidence in government—the ostensible goal of ethics legislation—is at an all-time low. Indeed the accounting often seems to further the problem by allowing critics to magnify minor blemishes into major defects.

For instance, there has been a regrettable willingness by politicians and activists in both of our major political parties to use even a hint of ethical misconduct as a political weapon against the other side. Negative political advertising has become an art form for almost every political campaign. Add to this a tendency in the public arena to exaggerate claims of impropriety, and it sometimes becomes difficult for the public to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate charges.

The media has added to the excesses. The desire of the electronic media to use sound bites rather than reportage lends itself to the name-calling and the sensationalism that exists. The desperate nature of competition for the print media had caused many newspapers to reach for scandals and follow the lead of the most yellow-journalism rivals.

Most of the investigations that I dealt with during my time as White House counsel—Whitewater, Waco, the Travel Office, the Mexican peso crisis—were a dismaying waste to time for Congress, for the administration and for the media who kept looking for a nonexistent smoking gun.

The investigations showed that some people in government made mistakes, used bad judgment, passed the buck and displayed other human fragilities that may be worthy of comment but hardly of an inquisition. In the Waco tragedy, for example, the Department of Justice and the Treasury Department each issued candid reports on the events, including an assessment of blame for the mistakes. The congressional investigations added nothing to the public awareness except to beat up on the agencies. The same is true of the congressional Whitewater investigations where an independent counsel operation has been spending a lot of time and resources to determine whether any governmental officials engaged in wrongdoing.

I am not an apologist for human shortcomings. Once a government official steps over the ethical line, he or she should be dealt with firmly. The public must know